ally crystallised sugar) added, gives it a most grateful relish, to the rarely stimulated palates of these poor and primitive people.

No. 12.—*Kúti, (Newari.)* The machine for converting the *dhan* into eatable rice, by husking it, is the same as that for making *súrki* from bricks, (hence called the *Dhenkí ?)*

No. 13.—*Chan-kummú, (Newari.)* Is the banghy used in all field work, and consists merely of two small wicker baskets, suspended from either end of a piece of wood or bambu, four feet long, which the carrier bears on his shoulders.

N. B. Exact models in wood of the above noted implements, are deposited in the museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

VII.—*Note on the Facsimiles of the various Inscriptions on the ancient column at Allahabad, retaken by Captain* Edward Smith, *Engineers. By* James Prinsep, *Sec. As. Soc. &c. &c.*

[Submitted at the Meeting of the 6th December.]

Captain Edward Smith, of the engineers, has rendered another signal service to the Society and to all those whose study is directed to the development of Indian history. On this occasion his task has been infinitely more trying to the patience, and has demanded more ingenuity and care, than in the comparatively simple affuir of *Bhilsa:* while on the other hand there was less expected from its accomplishment; seeing that Lieutenant Burt had already taken down the two principal inscriptions by hand, one of which had been published and interpreted with the advantage of all the learning and critical acumen of Captain Troyer and of Dr. Mill himself: while the other and older text had been shewn to be identical with the four tablets of the *Feroz lát,* and was therefore included in the explanation of that monument recently given. Nevertheless, experience rife and frequent had taught me the value of a strict revision, even of the most trust-worthy labour of the treacherous eye; and I was equally surprised and pleased to find that Captain Smith had devoted himself to this unpromising labour. There were many discrepancies of letters in Lieutenant Burt's copy of the No. 1. inscription, which might be satisfactorily rectified; there were also many obscurities in the *Samudragupta* inscription, which might be cleared up; and above all, it was an object to determine the nature of the interlineary inscription to which the attention of the curious had been directed first by Lieut. Kittoe,

and which was subsequently confirmed by Mr. WALTER EWER's inspection, as reported to the Society by himself more than a year ago.

To perform the operation in the most complete and engineer-like manner, Captain SMITH divided off the written part of the column into six lengths, and each of these again longitudinally into four quadrantal subdivisions, so that the whole surface of the stone could be printed off upon twenty-four large sheets of paper or cloth. Each paper was made to extend somewhat beyond the actual limit of the compartment so as remove any uncertainty in regard to the letters near the edge.

"On the system followed at *Bhilsa*," writes the author, "I have taken off no fewer than three impressions, that the success of one may supply parts of less happy execution in another. One impress is on cloth, and two are on paper, and together I think they give the inscription as perfectly as any inspection of the stone itself: more distinctly indeed I may say, for the relief of the colored ink brings out the characters with a precision not perceptible on the pillar."

Of these one paper and one cloth impression have been transmitted to *Calcutta*, the third being reserved in case of accident to them on the road. When united together the lettered surface measures nearly thirty feet long by nine in width, and comprehends a written superficies of 160 square feet!

Upon their arrival in Calcutta I lost no time in unfolding the roll and connecting the whole of the paper series (which seemed to have received the strongest print) into a continuous sheet, an operation rendered extremely easy by the tickets and directions accompanying them.

Our former review of the sculptured surface of the *Allahabad* pillar had divided the Hindu writing into three heads, that in the ancient or No. 1 character then unknown; that in the No. 2 or *Gaya* alphabet; and a third in the modern Deva-nágarí, consisting of a multifarious and uninteresting collection of scribblings and names. The same classification may still be retained, although we may now conveniently exchange the numerical designations for specific names, more especially as there will be presently shewn to be an intermediate class of writing between Nos. 1 and 2; of which similar evidence was furnished among the *Bhilsa* fragments.

Commencing then my inspection with the ancient Buddhist character (No. 1), I had the satisfaction to find that most of the slight discrepancies before remarked, between Lieut. BURT's version and the published *Delhí* text, disappeared on a careful scrutiny. The few instances of preferable reading or correction of the *Feroz* record which did

occur, I have collected as emendata in the subjoined note*. To a few of them I must however take the liberty of alluding more particularly.

In the first place, it is evident, although it escaped my notice before, that the final *è* of many words is the representative of the Sanskrit *visarga,* and not solely of the seventh case as I had imagined, or of the plural as in the Hindustání. Thus in the opening words, *Devánampiyè Piyadasí* represent the Sanskrit देवानांप्रिय: प्रियदर्शि: the *yè* and *sè* stand for य: and स: and consequently govern singular verbs, as, *yè cha sampaṭipajisati sè sukatam kachhati: yè paṭibhogam no éti* :—&c. Again in the catalogue of birds and animals prohibited from being eaten we find that all those ending in *è* agree with the Sanskrit masculine nominatives as *sukè, arunè, chakavákè,* &c. while *sáriká, jatuká, ajaká, eḍaká,* are agreeably to Sanskrit analogy feminines. Attention to this circumstance may help to determine some of the doubtful animals; thus *arunè* (not *arane* wild) is most probably the अरुण: of Sanskrit poetry, the fabulous elder brother of *garuda* the bird of Vishnu: the pandits say it is the adjutant. Again the *Allahabad* text has *anaṭhika-machhè,* valueless fish; and *sankuja*† *machhè,* shell-born fish; therefore it is plain the paragraph is not restricted to the feathered tribes; and, removing this restriction, we find much more plausible translations for many of the words :—*duḍí* (not *daḍi*) दुडि: a small or

* *Corrections or variations observed in comparing the Allahabad facsimile with the published Delhi text.*

North Compartment, line 5 for *usihéná* and *chakho,* read *usáhéna* and *chukho.*
6 for *vadhisatichevi,* read *vadhisaṭi cha, vá.*
7 for *anuvidhiyanti,* read *anu vi dhiyanti.*
12 for *chakho,* read *chakhu.*
13 for *vividha,* read *vividhé.*
14 for *dákhináyè,* read *dakhináyé.*
15, 16 for *heva, chiran thiti,* and *hotutiti,* read *hevam, chirathiti hotúti.*
18 for *pápam pápé,* read *pápakam pápakè,* and for *lája* and *ahá,* read *lájá* and *áhá* passim.

West Compartment, line 17 for *payihanti,* read *payisanti.*

South Compartment, line 2 for *sáyatha,* read *se yathá.*
3 for *arané,* read *arunè.*
4 for *jatuká ambaka pilika dadi,* read *játúka ambáki piliká duḍi.*
5 for *sakujámavé,* read *sankuja machhé.*

East Compartment, line 4 for *hetavakhéti,* read *hita sukhèti*
6 for *héméva,* read *hévam mé vá.*
9 for *mokhyamate,* read *mokhyamuti.*

† It is doubtful whether the *j* has not a vowel *e* also, which would make *it shell-fish,* and other fish.

female tortoise (Wilson's Dict.)—*ambáka pílíká,* the mother (or queen) ant:—the *panasè,* monkey; *kaḍhata-sayake,* the crab, the boa; *sesimalé,* the snake, the eel. (?)*

It would be endless to enumerate the instances wherein this simple emendation restores sense to passages that were before only half intelligible. I had indeed before adopted it in many cases (as *etam janè sutá,* एतं जनः श्रुत्वा, page 599),but without apprehending the invariable rule. The *Páli* language converts the *visarga* of the nominatives of such nouns into *o*, and the same change is observed in the *Sindhí* and *Zend*†; nor am I aware that the grammatical *Prákrit* or *Mágadhí* of the Hindu drama sanctions the use of the vowel *è* in place of the *visarga.* If *se, ye, te* are used at all it is either in the dual, or in the plural sense as in Sanskrit, and as in the modern *Hindí Bhásha.*

The next remark I would make is on the singular passage *nomina pápaṃ dekhati, iyam mè pápèkaṭèti* (p. 577). The words on the *Allahabad* pillar are *pápakaṃ* and *pápakè;* of precisely the same meaning, and therefore establishing the correctness of the translation. The same confirmation of authenticity is deducible from the occasional omission of the verb *huti,* the final *iti,* the substitution of *chakhu* for *chakho* and other minor variations. I have inserted in the annexed plate a few examples of disputed passages, commencing with *hidata pálaté dusampaṭipádayé,* which terminates the first long line of the *Allahabad* pillar, a sure sign that the sense is there completed, since we have a similar completion of the sentence in almost every line, as may be seen by reference to the original lithograph in vol. III. which I have not thought it worth while to recopy entire.

The five short lines in the old character that follow the *Dharmalipi* at a short distance below (see Capt. Burt's lithograph) were the next object of my inspection, I have represented what remains of them faithfully in fig. 1, of Pl. LVI. which will be seen to differ considerably from Lieut. Burt's copy of the same. The reading is now complete and satisfactory in lines 1, 2, and 5. The 3rd and 4th lines are slightly effaced on the right hand. We can also now construe them intelligibly, though in truth the subject seems of a trivial nature to be so gravely set forth.

Devánampíyasá váchanèna savata mahámátá
Vataviyá : Ehèta dutiyáye deviye ránè
Ambávaḍika vá alameva dánam : Ehevapaṭi. . . .

* अम्बक पीलिका, पनसः कर्कटः, सयकः, शशः मत्सः. The latter word however more nearly resembles शिशुमारः the porpoise.

† Is the similarity of these two names more than accidental ?

Kichhiganíya titiyè deviyè senáni sava. . . .
Dutíyáyè deviyèti tí valamátu káruvákiyè

'By the mandate of Devanampiya, at all times the great truth (*Mahámátá**) is appointed to be spoken. These also, (namely) mango-trees and other things are the gift of the second princess (his) queen†. And these for ...... of Kichhigani' the third princess, the general (daughter's...... ?) Of the second lady thus let the act redound with triple force‡,

Unable to complete the sentence regarding the third queen, it is impossible to guess why the second was to enjoy so engrossing a share of the credit of their joint munificence, unless she did the whole in the name and on the behalf of them all!—It will be interesting to inquire whether by any good chance the name of queen *Kichhiganí* is to be found in the preserved records of Asoka's reign, which are so circumstantial in many particulars. It is evident the Buddhist monarch enjoyed a plurality of wives after his conversion, and that they shared in his religious zeal.

As for the interlineation, it may be dismissed with a very few words. Instead of being a paraphrase or translation of the ancient text as from its situation had been conjectured, it is merely a series of unconnected scribblings of various dates, cut in most likely by the attendants on the pillar as a pretext for exacting a few rupees from visitors,—and while it was in a recumbent position. In the specimen of a line or two in plate LVI. the date *Samvat* 1413 is seen along with the names of *Gopála putra, Dhanara Singh* and others undecipherable. In plate LV. also may be seen a *Bengálí* name with *Nágarí* date 1464 and a bottle-looking symbol ; and another below संवत १६६१ धमराज *Samvat* 1661 *Dhama rája*. These may be taken as samples of the rest which it would be quite waste of time to examine.

It is a singular fact that the periods at which the pillar has been overthrown can be thus determined with nearly as much certainty from this desultory writing, as can the epochs of its being re-erected from the more formal inscriptions recording the latter event. Thus, that it was overthrown, sometime after its first erection as a *Sílasthambha* or religious monument by order of the great Asoka in the

* See page 574. In Sanskrit देवानांप्रियस्य वचनेन (or perhaps rather वाञ्छनेन by his desiring, wishing) सर्वतो महामात्रा वक्तव्या (fit or proper to be said,) meaning perhaps that this object had been provided for by pecuniary endowment.

† तदेतत् द्वितीयाया देव्या राज्ञ्या आम्रवाटिका वा अलं एव दानम्

‡ द्वितीयाया देव्या तृतीयवलमस्तु कारुवाक्य, corresponding as nearly as the construction of the two languages will allow.

third century before Christ, is proved by the longitudinal or random insertion of several names (of visitors ?) in a character intermediate between No. 1. and No. 2. in which the *m*, *b*, &c. retain the old form, as in the Gujerat grants dated in the third century of the *Samvat*. Of these I have selected all I can find on the pillar :—they are easily read as far as they go. Thus No. 7, under the old inscription in Plate LVI. is नाडस *narasa*. It was read as *Bahu tatè* in the former copy. No. 8 is nearly effaced : No. 9 may be *Malavaḍi ro liṭhakaṇḍar* (?) *prathama dharah*. The first depositor of something ? No. 10, is a name of little repute : गणिकाकस्य *ganikákasya*, 'of the patron of harlots.' No. 11 is clearly नारायण *Narayana*. No. 12, चन्द्र भट *Chandra Bhaṭ*. No. 13 appears to be *halachha seramal*. And No. 14 is not legible though decidedly in the same type.

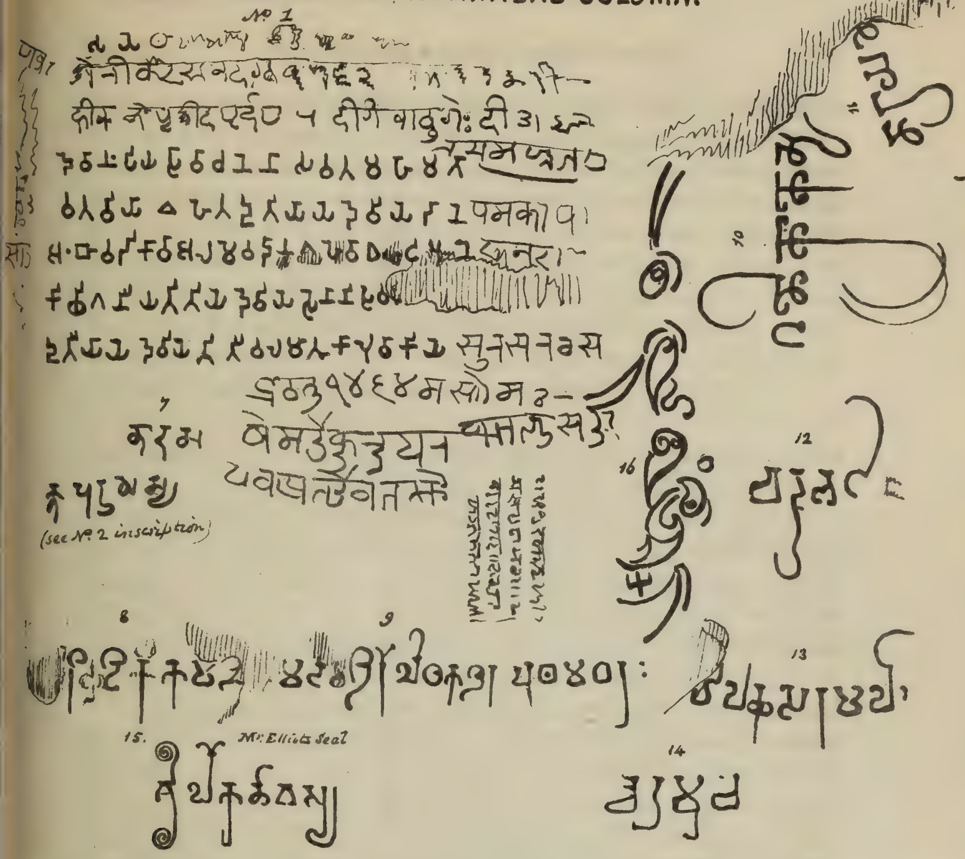
Now it would have been exceedingly inconvenient if not impossible to have cut the name, No. 10, up and down at right angles to the other writing while the pillar was erect, to say nothing of the place being out of reach, unless a scaffold were erected on purpose, which would hardly be the case since the object of an ambitious visitor would be defeated by placing his name out of sight and in an unreadable position.

This epoch seems to have been prolific of such brief records : it had become the fashion apparently to use seals and mottos ; for almost all (certainly all the most perfect) yet discovered have legends in this very character. One in possession of Mr. B. Elliott of *Patna*, has the legend lithographed as fig. 15, which may be read श्रीलोक नावस्य *Sri Lokanávasya, quasi* 'the boatman of the world.' General Ventura has also brought down with him some beautiful specimens of seals of the same age, which I shall take an early opportunity of engraving and describing.

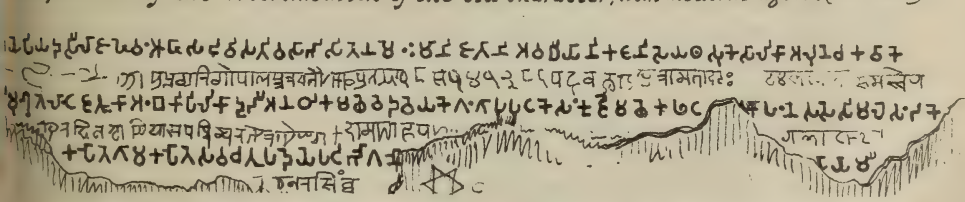
But to return from this digression. The pillar was re-erected as '*Samudra gupta's* arm' in the fourth or fifth century, and there it probably remained until overthrown again by the idol-breaking zeal of the Musalmáns : for we find no writings on it of the *Pála* or *Sárnáth* type, (i. e. the tenth century), but a quantity appear with plain legible dates from the Samvat year 1420, (A. D. 1363) down to 1660, odd : and it is remarkable that these occupy one side of the shaft, or that which was uppermost when the pillar was in a prostrate position. There it lay, then, until the death of the Emperor Akber ; immediately after which it was once more set up to commemorate the accession (and the genealogical descent) of his son Jehangir.

A few detached and ill executed *Nágari* names, with *Samvat* dates of 1800, odd, shew that even since it was laid on the ground again by

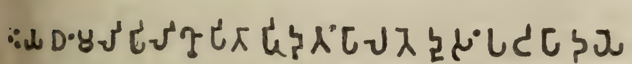
SELECTIONS FROM THE ALLAHABAD COLUMN.



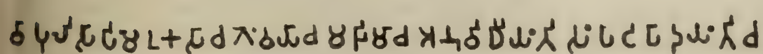
2. *Specimen of the interlineation of the old character, with modern Nágari. (3rd Tablet)*



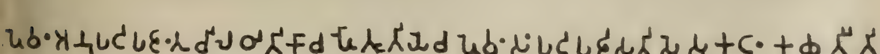
3. *Doubtful passage in the opening of the inscription, (North tablet, Feroz lat).*

 *(terminating the first line.)*

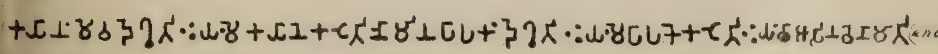
4, *another doubtful passage.*

 *(ends the line.)*

5, *end of second paragraph, Tab. 1.*

 *(ends.*

6, *beginning of 3rd Paragraph.*

 *(ends)*

Prinsep lithog. from Capt. Smith's impressions

general Garstin, the passion for recording visits of piety or curiosity has been at work, and will only end with the approaching re-establishment of the pillar in its perpendicular pride under the auspices of the British government. The welcome order has I believe at last been given to Captain Smith, and there can be little presumption in attributing it to the urgent representations of the Asiatic Society.

The anomalous flourish (No 16) which I before mistook for a peculiar writing, is apparently merely a series of ill drawn *shanks* or shells, a common Buddhist emblem. One was depicted last month, found by Captain Burnes on a Buddhist sculpture at *Hund* near *Attock.*

Let us now turn our attention to the *Samudra gupta* inscription (No. 2.) and see what new light Capt. Smith's labours have thrown upon it:—and here I most sincerely regret that I can no longer make over this portion of my task to my friend Dr. Mill himself, that we might benefit by the critical acumen with which he would test the numerous alterations suggested or necessitated in the former version by the infallible text now placed in our hands. I must solicit every indulgence for having ventured to undertake the examination myself.

I began by comparing the whole document, letter for letter, with Lieut. Burt's original lithograph and with Dr. Mill's transcript having the Latin interlineation, in the third volume of the Journal;—but so numerous were the changes required, that I soon found it indispensable to recopy the original on lithographic paper, and thus to present a fresh edition exactly as it stands on the column, shewing where the stone is peeled off or cut away by other writing, and where the real commencement and termination of some lines can be positively depended on.

First, then, there have been not less than *five* lines erased at the upper part of the inscription. One or two letters in each line can be still readily distinguished by their peculiar form in the midst of the modern *Nágarí* cut upon the excided parts. No conjecture can be made as to the contents of this portion, but Dr. Mill will doubtless be happy to find that the fragment in the fifth line (the first of the former version) will no longer require the strange interpretation of *ursumque lupus aureus in silvâ,* which the Burt copy constrained him to adopt.

In the next place, contrary to Dr. Mill's expectation, the whole of the upper or broken part of the inscription containing ten lines, besides perhaps six erased, proves to be metrical.

The poetical measure is variable: the greater portion is in the *srag-*

dhara chhandah, as lines 2, 3 ; 6, 7 ; 12 and 13 ; lines 8, 9 are in the *mandákrántá* measure ; and lines 10, 11 in the *sárdúla vikrírita ;* and again at the conclusion of the eulogy, line 28 contains a complete half verse in the *prithví chhandah,* laudatory of the purifying powers of Ganges water.

Each line contains half a stanza, or two *charanas.* The termination of the first *charana* is well defined by a blank space on the stone. The second *páda* or versicle of the stanza is generally erased or unintelligible—but in the 3rd and 4th lines* this also is entire.

From line 14 the composition continues uninterrupted in a florid style of prose or *gadya.*

As it generally happens that the construction of each *páda* is finite and independent, the mutilation of the poetical part does not necessarily prevent the understanding of the general purport, and it is evident that the verse was no less a string of high flown panegyrical descriptions of the prince lately defunct, namely Samudra Gupta, than the prose continuation ; with the sole difference that the latter, governed by the initial demonstrative pronoun *tasya,* ' of him,' is constantly in the genitive case—until the sense is completed in the words *babhuva báhur ayam uççhritas stambhas,* ' this lofty pillar,' has become the arm ; and then follows *yasya,* ' of whom' still referring to the same person as before, rather than to the pillar-arm itself.

After the apostrophe to Ganges-water above mentioned comes an acknowledgment of the authorship of the panegyric, and of the erection of the monument to his deceased master, by the *dewan* of the young prince (whom Dr. Mill conjectures with great plausibility to be Chandra Gupta II.):—and at a respectful distance the name of the officer by whom his orders were carried into execution ; *avasthitamcha,* is the word employed, which from the obscurity of the copy before him Dr. Mill read *senánvitamcha.*

When I mention further that I find no invocation in lines 2, 3, on behalf of the sculptor and blackener of the letters, I have summed up all the changes, and I may venture to say amendments, which Captain Smith's facsimile has introduced in the *general bearing* of the document embraced in Dr. Mill's analysis, (page 261, vol. III.)

But this is by no means the extent of obligation due to it:—for although lines 13-37 remain as before, eulogistic descriptions of the king in the genitive case, the purport of the greater part is entirely altered; moreover by some unaccountable oversight in Lieut. Burt's transcript the last dozen letters of the 15th line are omitted altogether,

* I adhere to the former numbering of the lines for convenience of reference.

and in their place are brought up as many from the end of the following line; and this transposition continues until the 24th line, where it will be seen that the same dozen letters that close the 23rd line are repeated! It would indeed have been extraordinary, under such unfavorable conditions, had our learned vice-president been able to give a perfect translation! we may rather wonder that he could make any thing at all of such a mass of confusion!

When restored to its natural order we find the epithets applied to the deceased Emperor of Hindustan, not only much less hyperbolical and reposing less upon mythological allusions, but crowding in a short space a most unexpected and curious survey of the political divisions of India at the time, containing even the names and titles of very many of the reigning families, and extending beyond the boundaries of India proper into the regions of the "great king" of Persia and the hordes of the Huns and Scythians! It may be poverty of imagination in the poet that has wrought us this good; for once laying hold of an idea he rings the changes upon it as long as he can find words, and then draws up with an inelegant '&c.' Thus in the 14th and 15th lines he enumerates no less than nine warlike weapons the king's brawny arms were scarred in wielding: and thus when he mentions tributary states he fortunately spares none that SAMUDRA's supremacy could in any degree comprehend! The passage is altogether so curious that I must crave permission to insert a copy of it in the roman character before I endeavour to trace any of the countries alluded to. The continual recurrence of the adjectival termination *ka,* (the prototype of the modern genitive *postposition*) led me to suspect the nature of the sentence.

16. *Kausalaka mahendra, máhakántáraka vyaghra rája, Kaurádrika maṇṭa rája, arghásh̤tapuraka mahendra, mirika-uddyaraka swámi, dattairaṇḍapallaka dáyana, kánchiyaka vishṇu, sápávamuktaka* (17.) *Nila-rája.*

In this sentence we have the regal designations of nine princes; unless (which is probable enough) the terms *mahendra, rája, swámí, nila rája, dayana,* &c. are employed with the same general acceptation of prince, to vary the expression euphoniously.

The kingdom of *Kausala* (or *Kosala*) is well known from the Buddhist authors to be modern *Oude**, *(Ayodhya)* or *Benares,—Kásikosala* of WILFORD. The *Vyaghra mukhas,* tiger-faced people, are mentioned in the *Varásanhita,* among the eastern countries; and *Cántára* a place south of *Allahabad,* but the name may apply to any woody tract

* WILFORD however makes *Kausala* the *delta or Sundarban* tract of Bengal. As. Res. IX. 260.

infested by tigers. The next name *Kaurádrika* is unknown, nor can the title *Manta rája* be well explained. It may be the district of *Curu,* near *Tahnesar. Argghashtapuraka,* the next name, may be construed as the eight cities where due reverence was paid to brahmans :—*Mírika* and *uddyaraka* seem derivable from *míri* cream, and *uda* water, maritime countries ;—*dattairandaka,* may be some country famous for producing the castor-oil plant ;—*Kánchiyaka* may be *Kánchipur,* the golden city in the south mentioned in the *Brahmanda purána ; —S'ápávamuktaka,* bears also an allegorical interpretation, 'freed from a curse ;' —as likewise the rája's title *níla* 'the blue :'—can the *nílagiri* be his locality ? it is one of the mountain divisions of *Jambudwipa* in the *Brahmanda purána* "like the lapis lazuli gem is the *Níla* mountain*." Thus it may be uncertain whether these are figurative or real names, though it is hardly to be supposed that countries purely imaginary would be introduced as subsidiary to the rule of a man just deceased. The list continues in the same strain :—

17. (*Nila rája,*) *vaingěyaka hastivarma, pálakka-ugrasena, devarashtraka kubera, kausthalapuraka dhananjaya, prabhriti sarva dakshinapatha rája griha samájánugraha janita pratáponmis'ra máhabhágyasya.*

All these names, it says, belong to that division of India entitled *Dakshinapatha,* the lowermost of the four equilateral triangles into which the *Mahábharat* divides ancient India—the *Dachinabades* of Arrian. This division, known to the contemporary of Alexander (Euemerus) was still extant in the time of Nonnus. *Vaingěyaka* is a regular derivative from *Vinga ;* but neither this country nor *Pálak,* are to be found in the Pauranic lists of the southern countries, unless the latter be the country of the *Pallis*†. It must be remarked, that the names of their rulers are circumstantially given Hastivarma, and Ugrasena: and following them we have Kuvera and Dhananjaya of *Daivarashtra,* and *Kausthalapura,* places equally uncertain ; though the former has some affinity to *Devagiri* or *Deogir ; rashtra* implying merely 'country :' *Maháráshtra* might also be understood. *Kusasthallí* is said by Wilford to have been the name of *Oujein* in the *treta yuga* : Tod names the same place 'on the Indian ocean,' but the general interpretation is Canouj, a place out of the limits of the *Dakshinapatha.*

The enumeration continues in the 18th line, as follows :—

Rudradeva, Matila, Nágadatta, Chandravarma, Ganapati, Nága, Nágasena, Achyuta, Nandi, Balavarma,—adyaneka Aryavarta rája, &c. ending with *paricharakíkrita sarvadevarájasya.*

* Asiatic Researches, vol. VIII. Wilford's Essay on Geography, 345.

† Placed by Wilford in Candeish, and otherwise called *Abhiras.*—As. Res. VIII. 336.

Here we have the actual names of ten rájas of India Proper or *Aryavarta,* without their respective countries, as though they were too well known to need insertion. The first, *Rudra,* probably belongs to the *Sáh* dynasty of *Saurashtra,* where the name so often occurs: *Ganapati* is also a family name: but few or none of the others can be identified in the very imperfect lists of this early period.

In the following line we have a catalogue of provinces, whose kings were probably unknown by name to the writer.

19. *Samata, taḍuvakra, kámarúpa, nepála, kartripura-adi pratyanta, nripatibhir malavárjunáyana, yaudheya, mádraka, abhira, prarjuna, sana kaníka kákakhara parikádibhis cha; Sarva kara dánájnákarana pranámágamana* (20) *paritoshita prachaṇḍa sásanasya.*

The first five are the names of boundary mountain states on the north-east. The first two names cannot be determined, but the text does not permit Dr. MILL's plausible reading *Sumata dárachakra,* the country friendly to pines. *Kámarúpa,* and *Nepála* are well known: *Kartripura* may possibly be *Tripura* or *Tipperah.* Then follow those more to the north and west, most of which are to be found in the lists of the north-west countries extracted by WILFORD from the Puránas, and published in As. Res. VIII. 340-343.

Malava he would make the modern *Málwa,* but this may be doubted as it is classed with *Mádraka, Yaudheya, Arjunáyana,* and *Rájanya* (? *Prárjuna*) as 'drinking the waters of the *Airávati* (Hydraotes),' and consequently in the Panjáb. *Mádraea* is placed near *Taxila* or *Takshasila : Yaudheya* or the country of YUDDHA is very frequently mentioned in the Puránas, as lying between the *Betasta* (Hydaspes), and *Sindhu* (Indus). WILFORD calls it Sinde Proper, the *Ayud* of travellers of the 16th century, and *Hud* of the book of Esther. It must not be confounded with *Ayodhya* or *Oude :* and it may be here remarked that the *Behat* group of Buddhist coins and sometimes Bactro-Pehleví legends on the reverse, having constantly the word *Yaudheya* on the margin in the old character, certainly belong to this kingdom.

The *Abhiras* are shepherd kings (or more probably hill tribes) in various parts of India; those here enumerated must be the *Abhiras* of the upper part of the Indus near *Attock. Abhisara* is often understood as *Cashmere,* the kingdom of *Abisares,* if we trust WILFORD. The two final names *sana kaníka* and *kákakhara* are unknown: the former reminds us forcibly of the *kanirka* of our coins; and the latter has some analogy to the *kaka bambas* of Gen. COURT's map, to the north-west of *Cashmír. Kanaka* appears in WILFORD's list as an impure tribe on the west border.

Passing over the panegyric about his restoring the descendants of long deposed kings, which however is a fact not to be slightly regarded in a historical point of view, we come to another very curious passage: *Daivaputra sháhi; sháhánasháhi, saka, murundaih; sainhádrika adibhis cha,—sarva dwípavásibhir, &c.*

Here we have a picture of his foreign relations, the nations who used to send him presents, or tribute of jewels, coin, horses, fruit, and even their daughters! First, *Daivaputra sháhi* (षाह्वि), 'the heaven-descended king:' this title would apply to the Parthian kings who are styled in the well known triple inscriptions, ΕΚΓΕΝΟΥΣ ΘΕΩΝ, and on the common Sassanian coins, "offspring of the divine race of gods." But the two first letters are slightly obliterated and might be read either *Dábha,* or *Dára-putra:* the latter, 'son of Darius' would still apply to the same parties, and this is confirmed by the next words षाहानषाह्वि in which we recognize the very Persian title شاهنشاه 'king of kings,' which prevailed to the extinction of the Sassanian dynasty in the seventh century, so that here at any rate we have a limit to the *modernicity* of our inscription. Of the *Sakas* so much has been said that it is not requisite to dwell long on them: they are the *Parthians* of Wilford's chronological table of Indian dynasties; others identify them with the Sacæ, the *Scythians,* the *Sakya* tribe of Buddhist notoriety, and the *Vikramáditya* opponents who introduced the *Saka* era. The *Murundas,* according to Wilford*, are a branch of the Indo-Scythians who succeeded the Parthians, and in fact the same as the *Hunas* or *Huns.* Thirteen kings of this dynasty, he says, reigned in the northern parts of India. "They are the *Morundæ* of Ptolemy, who were masters of the country to the north of the *Ganges* from *Delhi* to *Gaur* and Bengal. They are declared in the Puránas to be *Mlechhas,* impure tribes, and of course they were foreigners. The same are called *Maryanthes* by Oppian in his Cynogetics, who says that the *Ganges* runs through their country."

Sainhádri, the country of the lion *Sinha,* might safely be identified with *Sinhala,* or *Ceylon:* especially as it is followed by *Sarva-dwipa,* 'all the isles,' which must refer to the *anca diva* of Wilford, (the Laccadives ?) called by Ptolemy the *Aigidiæ*†; but I find a more plausible elucidation in Col. Sykes' memoir on the geology of the Dakhan, which informs us that *Sainhádri* is the proper name of the hilly range to which we give the appellation 'Western Ghâts.'

As a proud peroration to this formidable list of allies and tributaries, the poet winds up with the brief epithet words *prithivyám apratira-*

* As. Res. VIII. 113, and table. † As. Res. VIII. 186.

thasya, 'whom in his war-chariot none in the world can rival or withstand,' the very epithet found on one of the coins of SAMUDRAGUPTA, *(apratirathas)* which I at first read *apatirurha.* However much we may allow for exaggeration it will be granted that the sovereign to whom even a fair share of all this power and vast extent of empire could be attributed, must have exercised a more paramount authority in India Proper than most of its recorded kings. The seat of his own proper kingdom is unfortunately not mentioned, but I think it may be fairly deduced negatively from this very circumstance. *Magadha, Ujjayani,* and *Surasena* are omitted; these therefore in all probability were under his immediate rule, and I may appeal again to the frequency of his coins discovered at *Canouj* as a reason for still fixing his capital at that place; his family connection with the *Licchavís* of *Allahabad,* will account for the commemoration of his deeds at that many-roaded *(aneka márga)* focus.

Of what family were SAMUDRA and the preceding GUPTAS, is nowhere mentioned. Dr. MILL's claim to a *Suryavansa* descent for them however falls to the ground from the correction of the epithet *Ravibhuva,* sun-descended, which turns out to be only the verb *babhuva,* 'was.'

But I rather avoid being led into any disquisition upon this fruitful subject, since I agree in all that has been brought forward by the learned commentator on this and the *Bhittri* inscriptions in regard to the CHANDRAGUPTA of neither of them being the SANDRACOTTUS of MEGASTHENES. On the other hand I incline much to identify him with the prince whom the Chinese Buddhist travellers found reigning in the fifth century having a name signifying "cherished by the moon*."

It now remains to give my revised transcript of the inscription at length, along with a translation effected with the aid of my pandit KAMALÁKÁNTA by whom the *Devanágari* text was scrutinized and corrected in a few places, under second reference to the original, which is for the most part beautifully distinct. I have collected all the letters into an alphabet at the corner of the accompanying plate for the guidance of those who would consult the more ancient character. Every letter has been found in the most satisfactory manner; and the only precaution to be attended to in reading is as to the application of the vowel *á,* which occupies different places in different letters *as in the Silasthambha alphabet.* Thus, it is attached to the central stroke of the *j* upward; to the second foot of the ण *n,* downwards; to the ट *t,* horizontally with a curve; to ब *b,* as a hook on the centre: and to other letters at top in the Tibetan fashion. A few examples are introduced in the plate below the alphabet.

* J. A. S. VI. 65.

2 यस्यक्रान्तेविषङ्गाचित सुखमनसःश्शास्त्र तत्त्वार्थ्यैभोक्तुः . . न . . नोच्छ

3 (भर्त्तं) व्यश्रीविरोधाब्बधगुणितगुणाज्ञाहतानेवकृत्वा
    द्विलीके विस्वपातास्फट बऊकविताकीर्त्तिराज्यं भुनक्ति

4 तदाहत्युपगुह्यभावपिस्युनैरुत्कर्णितैरोमभिः
    सभ्येषूच्छ्वासितेषु (प्र) तुलकुलजमानाननोद्वी . . .

5 स्नेहव्याभजितेनबास्प गुरुणा तत्वीक्षिणा चक्षुषा
    यःपत्राभिहितो निविष्टनिखिल . . . .

6 दृष्ट्वाकर्म्माण्यनेकान्य नणुजसदृशान्यद्भुतोद्भिन्नहर्षं
    भवैरास्वाद्धयण . . . .

7 वीर्य्योत्तप्तस्च कं चिच्छरिणमुपगतोयस्य वृत्तेप्रणामे प्यति. . . . .

8 सङ्ग्रामेषुस्वभुजविजितानित्यमुच्चप्रकाराः स्वस्वोमानप्र . . . .

9 गोप्तोत्तुङ्गैःस्फुटबऊरसस्नेहफुल्लैर्म्मनोभिः पश्चात्तापाव . . . . . .

10 उद्वेलोदितबाऊवीर्य्यरभसादिकेनायेनच्चत्रो
    द्यान्मुत्यान्यांतनाणृसेषु . . . .

11 दण्डैर्ग्रर्ईयतैर्वकोत कुलजंपुष्पन्धायक्रीडता

12 धर्मत्प्राचीरबन्धाः शशिकरशुचयः कीर्त्तयःसंप्रताना
    वैस्युतुषभद प्रग्रमेर. . . . मुर्ङ्ग . . . .

13 सव्याजःसूक्तमार्ग्गः कविमतिविभवोत्सारणंचपकाश्य
    कोनुस्याद्योस्य नस्य. . . . .

14 तस्य विविधसमरशतावतरणदक्षस्य स्वभुजबलपराक्रमैकबन्धोः
    पराक्रमाङ्कस्यपरसु शङ्कुशक्ति प्राशासि तोमर

15 वत्सपाल नाराच वैतस्तिकाद्यनेकप्रहरण विरूढाकुल व्रणशताङ्क
    शोभा समुदयोपचित कान्ततर वर्ष्मणः

16 कौसलक महेन्द्र महाकान्तारकव्याघ्रराज कौराट्टकमण्टराजाग्र्गो
    ष्टपुरकमहेन्द्र मीरिकौद्यारक स्वामि दत्तैरण्डपल्ल कदयनका
    ञ्चेयक विष्णु शापावमुक्तक

17 नीलराज वैङ्गेयक हस्तिवर्म्म पालक्ककोग्रसेन देवराष्ट्रक कुबेर

कौस्थलपुरक धनञ्जय प्रभृति सर्व्वदक्षिणापथ राज ग्रहसमा
जानुग्रह जनित प्रतापोन्मिश्र महाभाग्यस्य

18 रुद्रदेव मतिल नागदत्त चन्द्रवर्म्म गणपति नाग नागसेना च्युत
नन्दि बलवर्म्माद्यनेकार्य्यवर्त्तराज प्रसभोद्धरणोद्वृत्त प्रभाव
महतः परिचारकीकृत सर्व्वदेवकराजस्य

19 समतटाडवक्र कामरूप नेपाल कर्त्तृपुरादि प्रत्यन्त नृपतिभिर्म्मा
लवार्जुनायन यौधेय माद्रकाभीर प्रार्जुन सनकानीक काकखर
परिकादिभिश्च सर्व्वकरदानाज्ञाकरणप्रणामागमन

20 परितोषित प्रचण्डशासनस्य अनेकभ्रष्टराज्योत्पन्नराजवंशप्रतिष्ठा
पनोद्गतातिवेल भजनोपार्जितयशसः दैवपुत्रषाहि षाहानषा
हि शक मुरुण्डैः सैंहाटकादिभिश्च

21 सर्व्वद्वीपवासिभिरात्मनिवेदन कन्योपायन दान गरुत्म टङ्काख
विषयभुक्ति शासन कांचनाद्युपायसेवाकृत बाहुवीर्य्यप्रसरध
रणिबन्धस्य पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्य

22 सुचरितशतालङ्कृतानेकगुणगणासक्तिभिश्चरणतलप्रमृष्टान्यनरपति
कीर्तिः साद्धसाभ्युदयप्रलयहेतुपुरुषस्याचिन्त्यस्य भक्त्य वनतिमात्र
ग्राह्यमृदुहृदयस्यानुकम्पावत्यानेकगःशतसहस्र प्रजयितः

23 कृपणदीनानाथातुरजाद्धनेरणामन्त्रदीक्षप्रियगानसिद्धस्य विग्रहा
वताडकानुग्रहस्य धनदवरुणेन्द्रान्तकसमस्य स्वभुजबल विजिता
नेक नरपति विभवप्रत्यर्पण नित्यवाक्यतायुक्तपुरुषस्य

24 निशितविदग्धमतिक गान्धर्व्वलपित व्रीडित त्रिदशपति गुरुतुम्बुरु
नारदादेर्व्विद्वज्जनोपजीव्यानेक काव्यक्रियाभिः प्रतिष्ठित कवि
राजशब्दस्य सुचिरानुभूतध्यानेकाद्भुतोदार चरितस्य

25 कान्तसमयक्रियानुविधानमात्रमानसस्य लोकधाम्नो देवस्य महा
राज श्रीगुप्तप्रपौत्रस्य महाराज श्रीघटोत्कचपौत्रस्य महाराजा
धिराज श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तपुत्रस्य

26 लिच्छविदौहित्रस्य महादेव्यां कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्नस्य महाराजाधि

राज श्रीसमुद्रगुप्तस्य सर्व्वपृथिवीविजयजनितोदय व्याप्तनिखि
लावनितलात्कीर्त्तिमितस्त्रिदशपति

27 भवनगमनावाप्तललितसुखविचरणमाचक्षाणः बभूव बाहुरयमु
च्छ्रितःस्तम्भः यस्य प्रदानभुजविक्रमप्रशमशास्त्रवाक्योदययोरुप
र्य्युपरिसञ्चयोच्छ्रितमनेकमार्गं यशः

28 पुनातु भुवनत्रयं पशुपतेर्जटान्तर्गुहानिरोधपुरिमोक्षशीघ्रमिव
पाण्डुगाङ्गंपयः ॥ एतच्च काव्यमेषामेव भट्टारकपादानां दासस्य
समीपपरिसर्पणानुग्रहोन्मीलित मतेः

29 खाद्यटपाकिकस्य महादण्डनायक ध्रुवभूतिपुत्रस्य सान्धिविग्रहिक
कुमारामात्यम (हापात्र) क हरिसेनस्य सर्व्वभूतहित सुखायास्तु

30 अवस्थितंच परमभट्टारकपादानुध्यातेन महादण्डनायक तिल
भट्टकेन

Translation.

[Beginning with the *fifth* line, with *yusya* which has reference to a preceding eulogistic epithet in the genitive case. This is numbered verse 2 in Dr. MILL's translation.]

2.......In the midst of pleasurable things happy in body and mind; levying his revenue in strict conformity with the shápast/stras*.......

3.......Destroying unhappiness, and putting an end to those who cause it; greedy for eulogistic praise, glory and extended rule :—

4.......Whose enemies amazed at his cavalcade and warlike armament ask what manner of man is this ?—Among his elevated counsellors.......

5.......Whose eyes filled with the tears of affection, when in consequence of his written mandate (his son or wife had been recalled ?)

6.......Having seen his former good acts, delightful as nectar, his wife was much pleased.......

7. Inflamed with vigorous wrath against the presumptuous, but when submissive.......

8. In battles with his own arm humbling continually those who exalt themselves.......

9. Cherishing (his subjects) with an affectionate, sweet, and contented disposition.......

10....The force of his arm being gradually strengthened by youthful exercise, by himself were killed.........

11. [This verse is too much effaced to be made out.]

12. Whose fame is spread (over the earth), as it were a cloth white as the moon-beam.......

* Which enjoin that one-sixth of the produce of the land belongs to the king.